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He then makes a duplicate and soaks both in water. When they are soft, he places a foot on each, brings the edge over the foot by pulling up the lacing, which he ties in a knot over the toes, and goes about his work. "The dried traru are then like a fitted shoe," remarked the interpreter. Sometimes a sole of wood is inserted; temu is preferred for this because of its flexibility. 291

Today, clothing of preschool and school-age boys consists of knee-length pants, shirt, and sweater or coat, and usually a poncho. (Pls. 5; 7, 2; 8; 9, 1; 11, 1, 3; 12.) Boys' pants are usually made of new cloth bought in Chilean stores; occasionally they are made from a piece of chamall or a man's worn pants, but usually a man's pants are mended until they finally fall apart. Men do their own sewing by hand. Women or older girls do the knitting. A small boy's pants are sometimes knitted from yarn; so are sweaters. Shirts and coats are either bought in stores or made from worn ones of men. In Cofiaripe nearly every boy between 2 and 11 years of age wore a sleeveless, short-legged coverall knitted of homespun yarn of a natural brown color, or dyed a deeper brown. It was usually knitted by the mother or an older sister—occasionally by the boy himself. Knitting was introduced by non-Araucanian teachers in recent years. Ponchos were woven of yarn. 291 294 [177]

In general boys were barefoot; an occasional one in Cofiaripe area wore ojotas to school. Any boy wearing shoes gives evidence thereby that his parents are people of means. A fond aunt who could not afford shoes put stockings on her little nephew when his picture was about to be taken (pl. 4, 2), as stockings give greater prestige than do bare feet. Hats, too, were a sign of a standard of living higher than mere necessities. More hats than shoes were seen on boys in all areas. Boys who had hats wore them at fiestas, when going to town or to church services, when bringing messages or mail to the writer, when having a picture taken, and occasionally at school. Younger boys wore knitted berets (pl. 8, 1). A 2-year-old Cofiaripe area boy wore a cap, "because the sun shining on his head makes him sick," said his 19-year-old sister. 291

Regarding women's clothing and accessories the 70-year-old Pangipulli man said the following articles were the customary ones when he was a child: a kepam (dress, homewoven of black yarn); an ikülla or ilulla (shawl woven of black yarn); a trarüwe (belt); two akuchu (stickpins), one used in pinning the dress and the other the shawl; a trarülopko (headband of silver medallions) or a llellofpatrowe (headband ornamented with little silver studs) or an undecorated woven band—all worn to keep the hair from the face; and 291 301 291 302

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day, and let it settle. The liquid was then poured off into the boiling dye from which she had removed the skeins. At this point she said that there would be an offensive odor soon, because of the putrid urine, and that maybe we would like to leave the ruka. When the kettle was again boiling she returned the skeins to it and let all boil for a while, after which she squeezed a handful of yarn free of liquid and examined the color. After another 10 minutes she removed the skeins, and sent her daughter to hang them on a fence to dry. The teen-age daughter had assisted her all during the dyeing. "That is the way she learns; that is how I learned—by helping my mother dye." The same informant set commercial dyes by boiling the dyed yarn in water in which commercial alum had been dissolved. I did not see any tie-dyeing, noted by Cooper and described by his sources (1946, p. 717).

Weaving is done by women and older girls (pls. 57, *a*; 59). School girls younger than 15 years had not done any weaving. Articles woven today for use of men and boys are ponchos (makuñ) and belts (chamallwe); for women and older girls, dresses (kəpam), shawls (ikülla), belts (trarüwe), and headbands (trarulonko); for household use and for sale, blankets, lama, and choapino. Lama and choapino are used by Araucanians as throws for stools and benches, and as saddle covers. Chileans use them as throws and rugs.

Before setting up the loom, measurements of the article to be woven are determined and the loom adjusted to them. Measurements for clothing, as previously stated, are taken on the person who is to wear them. Generally, pieces of yarn serve as measuring tape; knots are made where measures end. "I made a poncho for him recently. I took these two measurements." The woman indicated two lengths—one from his neck to halfway between his waist line and knees, and the other from his neck to his thumb with his arm outstretched. The measurements for a blanket are taken from one already made, unless one is being woven for a specific person, in which case the length will depend on the height of that person. Measurements of lama and choapino depend on the use that is to be made of them. A woman will say, "I am going to make this choapino so wide and so long [indicating the dimensions with hand stretches]; the storekeeper wants two of that size."

Weaving is done on a rectangular adjustable frame called a clou. The frame is made by tying two horizontal beams (kako)—oblong pieces of wood planed down on all sides—to two upright poles (witralwitral) made of two saplings trimmed of twigs and bark. Shuttles (yiwälle) are either short, straight pieces of wood or stout twigs, or more often

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sounds of the trutruka. (Cf. pl. 70, *1*, *2*, for trutruka.) Smoke and fire signals were begun on one mountaintop, taken up by persons on a neighboring one and on all others where it had been seen, and so continued until the message was received by all. In areas where people lived in valleys, where mountaintops could not be readily seen, the trutruka was blown. Wherever its sound was heard, other trutruka were blown, until all areas had received the notice. "Araucanians say that when a stranger entered the pre-Cordillera, in those early days, the news of it, before long, reached the upper end of the Cordillera." Kolupan did not agree with the above. "Trutruka," he said, "were not used for signaling. And all I know about the use of fire is that the Tehuelche used it when hunting guanaco. When we wanted to send news from one place to another, we sent messengers on horseback to carry it. Such messengers we called welkin." 202

MEASUREMENTS: LINEAR, SURFACE, DISTANCE, QUANTITY

The shortest measurement was the pulgada—a measurement from tip to first knuckle of the thumb. An informant measured a bean used in playing a game in this manner. A hand stretch from tip of thumb to tip of first finger is called duke; from tip of thumb to tip of little finger, chapilkue. In using the hand-stretch measure, informants slid the thumb into the position of the finger, moving to the right if the right hand was used or to the left if the left hand was used. The length and width of the cradleboard and the belt used in tying a baby into its cradle were so measured. Lengths, widths, and heights were also indicated as the distance shown between hands. The length of a throw was measured by double arm stretches (nilfkü), unless it was measured over another throw. Distances on the ground were stepped off by long steps known as trekan. 804

Clothing was woven to fit the person for whom it was intended—"it has to fit that person." Either the measurements were taken from an article of clothing owned by the one for whom the new one was being woven, or they were taken directly on the person. A strand of yarn was used in measuring. An informant showed how she took measurements for a poncho: she put a strand of yarn across the interpreter's shoulders and brought both ends to the knee, one in front and the other in back. "How long do you want the poncho to be?" she asked. "Some men wear theirs longer than the knee; most men prefer theirs to just above the knee." She doubled this length and made a knot at that point. When ready to weave the poncho, she would cut the yarn into two equal lengths, fastening a length to each 804 294

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804 294 side of the loom. This assures even lengths of the poncho, she noted. For the width of the poncho she measured the distance between wrists of the interpreter's outstretched arms, and made a knot to indicate this measurement. The vertical bars of her loom needed to be that distance apart to insure the proper width.

804 Since trade with Argentines requires a knowledge of the meter, the length of a meter is marked off on some object. "We marked ours off on the rope of braided horsehide that we use in lassoing animals."

Measurements of quantity were pinches, single handfuls, and double handfuls, with hands held like scoops.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

574 [517] [516] Visiting within the family or among relatives or neighbors was, and still is, a popular pastime. Casual passers-by also may approach a group, wait until invited, and then join in the visiting. Most persons squat while visiting, but available chairs and benches are usually occupied. Formerly caciques reclined sidewise, resting on a pack of pelts. Men squat with knees apart and legs crossed under them at ankles; women squat with feet protruding at the left side. Children were always tolerated during adult conversation as listeners-in. "It was a good way for them to learn." Formerly, on occasions, after a family had made much chicha, invitations were sent to relatives and friends to participate in its consumption. Usually an abundance of meat was roasted outdoors for the get-together. A casual visitor did not stay for meals unless expressly invited to do so. An ample meal, sometimes an abundant one, was served to all invited guests on the occasions of the ear-piercing and naming of a child or following a girl's menstrual isolation. Some families never gave a feast: they were either too poor to do so, or had no interest in doing so.

521 Generally, conversation during visiting covered current topics, although legends and stories associated with wars were often related also. "There really was much to talk about formerly," said Kolupan. "We talked about the whereabouts of the gnamco; where the soldiers were; why we were again being chased from our land; how we were going to learn the language of the Whites; and many other things."

During my visit current topics were a suicide of a young Araucanian man; the national presidential election; preparations for driving cattle and sheep to summer pastures; taking a sick old woman—a favorite in the neighborhood—to a hospital in San Martin de los Andes; the baptism of a neighbor's baby; the critical illness of Father Ludovico.

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Ojotas were made from horsehide. The person for whom they were intended stood on a piece of hide, which was then cut to shape well beyond the outline of the foot. The edge of the leather was then punctured at intervals with holes through which a lacing of cowhide was passed. The lacing could be drawn to bring the hide together at the ankle, where it was secured with a knot.

Boots were made by stripping the hide off the legs of a horse, removing the hoofs, and then treating the flesh side as were the hides used as toldo coverings. The rider's toes protruded through the opening made by the removal of the hoof. "Toes needed to protrude, since the big toe controlled the stirrup," noted the informant. If a boot did not fit snug, it was tied about the ankle. Spurs were fastened about the ankle and instep. A spur was a nail hammered through a block of wood that was fastened to a band of leather.

A woman was completely clothed if she wore a dress (kupam), shawl (ekull), stickpin (tapu), neck and breast ornament (ſikill), headband (trariloqko), and silver earrings. The dress reached from shoulders to ankles and overlapped in front where it was held in position by being pinned together with a tapu. A woven belt, wider than one used by men, secured the kupam at the waistline. Back and front were overlapped on one or both shoulders and fastened with a little stick or twig, more recently with a safety pin. A 60-year-old woman examined a photograph of a Chilean woman in kupam and said sadly, "It is a pity that all this had to end. I wore a kupam until the soldiers came and chased us from place to place. It was impossible in those days for women to set up their looms long enough to weave. *We had* to buy ticking then to make clothing. Anyway, the Whites wanted us to do away with our own way of doing things, and that included our way of dressing."

The shawl was a piece of woven material approximately 2 yards square. If a woman wove one for her own use, it was of one color throughout; if she intended it as a gift (shawls were often among the gifts exchanged at the marriage ceremonial), she wove it of one color with a border of white. When guanaco wool became scarce, sheep wool dyed black became a favorite color. No design was woven into a shawl.

The tapu was a stickpin with a large silver disk. The ſikill had several pieces of silver strung one below the other, often with danglers, and ended in a cross. The trariloqko was a silver-ornamented headband worn to keep the hair in place.

Adults today wear modern clothes patterned after Argentine open-country styles, made of factory-woven cloth. Factory-made canvas